1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-aidura.

484 Enyor naleñg il-Maasae en-aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji
[233] nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur aapwo ae-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-sirkon
[492] aapik il-onīto oo 'l-direta, nepik i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap i-ñgorōyok il-benīa.

Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii 'n-gujit, nemeshetu 'ng-ajijik,
484 emany il-ñgobori. Ore 'l-
342 ñgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-onīto. Ore ten epwo e-wēji netii 'n-gujit kumok, neshetu 'ng-ajijik.

● [462] Naa 'ñgorōyok naashetu. E 'yau 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop, neān too-'ng-opit, nepik il-kujit. Ore p' eidip, nemur too-'mōdiok oo-'n-gīshu, o ol-ōkidoñgoi ōshulare 'mōdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-Maasae ing-añgite, kake emany i-manyat eboitare nooñgotonye oo 'sanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo o-sero ãinos 'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare 'singan lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratogedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

Manyattas.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 461 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [777]

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [563]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e* the rough fleshy side). 'Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [574] [582] [563] [411] [412] [438]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuan*, and eland, *o-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

Ith Marker--27 G-6 (1889-ca.1900) (Kit Mikoi Mara)

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/20 cont./
understand what such a carrera means. Mbaryan transported thousands of workers, and they starved absolutely, in endless long lines, men, women and children, toward the coast now at Kisulgu. Long

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(Marcher photo)

Ill. 4. Zeudou, the present chief of the Akamba.

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west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rain and flie with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the mountainous hinterland of the coast and severely approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

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The belief in the magic powers for healing purposes which Mbaryan gave these warring folk, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogogoya liana, was so deep-rooted in the people that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/23 cont./

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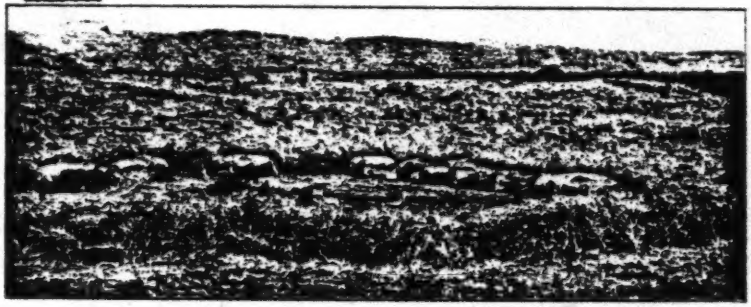

Merker phot

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that
[804] the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother
342 with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
335 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni, el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the
[284] other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[824] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-
342 thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters
[237] high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
[731] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast
[237] to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en aitero eng an) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after
[422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property.
As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy
[591] is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eŋg aṉ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, [462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted [351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which [252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are [415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary [439] tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con- 262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe- [241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not 262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, 272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by [758] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (eṅ gule) or sour (eṅ gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted [758] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwŏt) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup [234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat, [252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially [263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in [252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together [753] (1). [263]

[171]

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[753] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence
[231] of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/36 cont./

512 [264] [462] [517] 524

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game

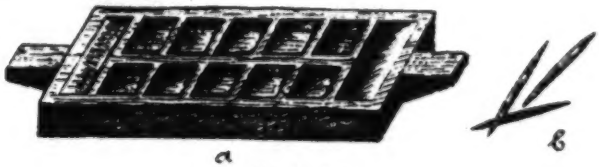

Fig. 8. 3/10.

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóto, 'n qurtót) of his row four stones (os sólid, es sóldo) (2).

> 2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gúlangulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which
70 quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which
[361] the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior
[634] kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a
[342] large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the
[513] hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are
[423] staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

621 The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain
701 huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle,
462 clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while
[351] the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and
[356] keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./

701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en dáĩ e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en dáĩ e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

/115 cont./

326 ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid
[435] with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, as soja; os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai gáí, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw this wire. For this they use as tools the en gáno and the ol gamét. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gáno also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamét (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the en gáno, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

[413]

Fig. 26a. ⅓.

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Massi women (es segeingé e
301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (e segengi, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimír, el aimér), are made by

306
301
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462
439

/116 cont./
the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

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The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work "ol dokira ndai nidai" = work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

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186 In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as ai mag ining, ai magi, = term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/150 cont./ If they
spare women and children in war. It is not out of compassion, but solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class (both of boys and of old) of her husband and desires her. It is obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures up to these tasks. Misdeeds beatings are not uncommon, but rough treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men leading idyllic, the women are busy all day long. For the married women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willingness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably. /151/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised ol oiliy as a disgrace and the work received of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

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[284] The other skins, after they have been well dried and /137/ dehaired by scraping with a sharp ax, are treated by a vigorous rubbing with a tanning extract. The bark of Terminalia Brownii Fresen var. kleineri Engl. (ol lugei) is pounded and made into an extract by being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable. [342] Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is carefully hidden in the thorn fence of the kraal, so that the cattle do not eat it and become sick from it.

[294] The sole article of clothing of the warriors is the skin cape (e mayoi, maykin): it consists of calf skins sewed together into a strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 64 centimeters wide. The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm through the knot lies on the right shoulder, chest, back, and left hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip bare; the latter so that the sword found there is free. The warrior cape is the only article of clothing that is never dehaired. The hair side is worn on the outside and, if carefully chosen in color, is often quite attractive, since only the silky-lustrous skin of claves unborn or a day or two old are used. Often the upper and lower edges of the cape are sewed with one or two rows of small red or white beads. Only very rarely is it also made of other skins than, the author saw two made out of that of the dark-green long-tailed monkey(Cercopithecus albigularis). Boys and men wear tied over the seat to the sword belt a three-cornered piece of leather to sit on (Fig. 38) (ol gebeem, el gebeemet), made of goat's hide or calfskin, for protection when sitting, against the thorns and prickly spikes of the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very short cape (en jorong, n jorongi), covering only the belly and back:

Fig. 38

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[701] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
• 462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of
[136] reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342. These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] [612] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [351] [354] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with [184] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. But [462] design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75 (People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this (177) (178) efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

262 Foods Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The 234 462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little 234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These 415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately (53) (38) decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the (29) Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and hair styles.

662 eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in [252] force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [462] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [825] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been raiding their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and prize ones are killed and eaten [562] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Millais (1920) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of oxen or sheep after the men were through eating.

231 272 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by tying a thong about the animal's neck so the jugular swells, then shooting a partially blocked arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.